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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a historical and cultural overview of the migration and life of Hispanics in Utah and identifies three themes: search for a better life, need for and acquisition of a sense of belonging, and substance of the Hispanic people. Over the past 4 centuries, Hispanics have migrated to Utah from New Mexico, Mexico, and Central and South America. A brief history of Hispanics in Utah, beginning in the 1500s, reveals that the search for a better life was the primary reason for moving there, whether it was to escape political turmoil or recession, to avoid crime in larger urban areas, or simply to earn income and return to their homeland. Utah Hispanics satisfied their need to belong by maintaining their cultural heritage through various practices and support systems, including the use of Spanish, special foods, festivals, traditional holidays, and interactive art forms such as music and dance. Churches, social organizations, and mutual aid societies have been important factors in maintaining Hispanic culture. Spanish language newspapers, magazines, and radio stations serve the Hispanic population, which has seen most of its growth since World War II and is presently the fastest growing minority group in Utah. As such, Hispanics are also affecting the demographics of Utah's educational system. The Hispanic population has experienced bias and discrimination in schools and the wider community, and has been offered secondary work positions, often because of low educational levels. Yet the value system and culture that the majority of Hispanics maintain have resulted in a strong work ethic and family support system. (Contains 23 references.) (TD)

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MIGRATION AND LIFE OF HISPANICS IN UTAH

By

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MIGRATION AND LIFE OF HISPANICS IN UTAH

Abstract

In this article, the reader is provided with a historical and cultural overview of the migration and life of Hispanics in the state of Utah, beginning in the 1500s. Additionally, systems that support the Hispanic population in Utah are discussed as well as various Hispanic populations who settled in the state such as New Mexicans, Mexicans, Latin Americans and other Hispanics. The discussion includes three salient themes derived from the historical and cultural review: people in search of a better life, need and acquisition of a sense of belonging, and substance of a people.

Introduction

Hispanics, currently at 10.7% of the United States population, now total over 28 million people (United States Bureau of the Census, 1997). Considerable diversity exists within the U.S. Hispanic community, which is made up of Hispanics primarily from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba (Valdivieso & Davis, 1988). The Hispanic population differs not only in their country of origin and race such as Asian, Black, Native American, or White, but also in their social class, educational status, cultural patterns, and level of assimilation. Virtually all of our nation has been influenced by the change in population demographics. The state of Utah is no exception.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this article, several terms are defined based on meanings culled from the research literature. These terms are listed in alphabetical order.

Chicano a is a term that originated in the 1950s when activists began to fight prejudice and discrimination. It was originally a negative label applied to poor, landless Mexican American immigrants. During the 1960s, the Chicano movement became powerful and the term was then used by Mexican Americans in a positive way to show pride in the Hispanic cultural heritage and a defiance of prejudice (Jensen, 1992; Katz, 1993).

Culture can be defined as those influences on human thought, actions, and lifestyle, consisting of shared cognitive codes, norms of appropriate behavior, and assumptions about values (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991).

Ethnic denotes any of the basic divisions of mankind, as distinguished by customs, language, etc. Ethnicity is defined as an ethnic classification or affiliation.

Hispanic is derived from the name of the Iberian peninsula, Hispania (Carrasquillo, 1991). Hispanic persons are of Spanish origin or descent who designate themselves as being Mexican American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or of other Spanish/Hispanic origin, regardless of race (Carrasquillo, 1991; Katz, 1993). The term Hispanic is used as an ethnic or cultural group.

Latino is a term used for identification by some people of Spanish origin or descent from Latin (Central or South) America.

Other Hispanic origin are those "whose origins are from the Dominican Republic, South and Central America, or Spain" (Carrasquillo, 1991, p. 3).

Race as a concept used by the Census Bureau does not denote a clear-cut scientific stock; instead, it reflects self-identification (Lapham, 1990, p. ii). The dictionary meaning defines race as any of the three primary divisions of mankind distinguished especially by skin color--any geographical, national, or tribal ethnic grouping.

Hispanics in Utah

Hispanic Migration to Utah

> Within fifty years of Columbus' landing in America, the quest for gold, God, and glory led Spanish explorers northward from Mexico toward the unusual land of Utah. (W. K. Hinton, 1988, p. 33)

Hispanics were the first Whites to travel through Utah (McCormick and McCormick, 1986). According to Hinton (1988) and Ulibarri (1972), in 1540, Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas,

in charge of a small scouting party of the Mexican Coronado expedition, "marched northwest for twenty days from New Mexico through a desert country until he was halted by the Grand Canyon of the Colorado at Grand View on the South Rim" (Hinton, 1988, p. 33). Because of the intimidating landscape, Captain Garcia Lopez de Cardenas encouraged Coronado to end the journey northward within a short distance of Utah's southern border. Upon his return to Mexico City, Francisco Coronado issued a report so grim concerning the conditions of the north country that the New Mexico territory remained the frontier outpost of New Spain for the next 170 years (Hinton, 1988).

Although several unofficial approaches from New Mexico to Utah may have occurred, according to Hinton (1988), the first Hispanics documented to enter Utah were members of the route led by Juan Maia Antonia Rivera in 1765 out of Santa Fe in search of silver mines. Rivera entered Utah northeast of Monticello, passing the La Sal Mountains through Spanish Valley to Moab on the Colorado River.

The well-documented Dominguez-Escalante Spanish excursion into Utah occurred in 1776 (Hinton, 1988; Ulibarri, 1972). Father Francisco Atanasio Dominguez was appointed to lead the expedition. Dominguez chose a 24 year old priest, Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, as his first lieutenant and diarist (Hinton, 1988). According to Ulibarri (1972), the expedition's major objective was to establish communication and transportation connections between Santa Fe and the California settlements. While in Utah, the expedition's supplies ran low, weather conditions were unfavorable, and their Ute Indian guide deserted them. A decision was reluctantly made to return to Santa Fe. As a result of Escalante's detailed descriptive journal and a map made by explorers in the party, Utah was open to European awareness. Although the major objective of the excursion was not accomplished, trade was developed from the New Mexico territory into

the Great Basin region by way of "the traders' trail (later known as the Old Spanish Trail)" (Hinton, 1988, p. 35).

Many of the Native American tribes and geographical features in Utah were named by members of the Dominguez-Escalante expedition and are still current today (Ulibarri, 1972). "Maps of New Spain named many of Utah's prominent geological features, including the San Juan and Colorado rivers, the La Sal and the Abajo mountains, and the Montezuma and La Vega Canyons" (Rivera, 1992, p. 9-10).

The Dominguez-Escalante expedition encountered several Native American tribes during their excursion to Utah. According to Hinton (1988), the Spanish first encountered the powerful and widespread Ute tribe. The Spanish newcomers were looked on as intruders; their presence in Utah had a substantial impact on the Native American populations. Hinton described the change as such,

> Contact with the Spanish dramatically changed the Utes from the peoples their great-great-grandfathers had been. Of all the changes the Spanish brought, the most important and powerful came through the Ute adoption and use of the horse.... The horse gave the Ute warriors a great psychological and logistical advantage in warfare with nonmounted tribes. Some Ute bands took advantage of their access to horses to become warlike people, making raids on neighboring bands and tribes to plunder goods and kidnap children. Children thus were transported to the nearest Spanish settlement to be sold as slaves for work in domestic service or mines. (Hinton, 1988, p.31)

The Utes plagued their neighboring Utah tribes, the Gosiutes in the north and the Paiutes in the south. The Utes were widely feared and respected by fur traders, explorers, and settlers. As a result of the Spanish explorers' descriptions, the Shoshonean population was the Native American tribe with whom the future explorers and settlers chose to deal (Hinton, 1988).

Hispanics began to settle in southeastern Utah permanently in the late 1800s when they came to herd sheep and work as ranch hands in San Juan County (Ellsworth, 1985; Hinton, 1988; McCormick & McCormick, 1986; Ulibarri, 1972;). This group of Hispanics came from northwestern New Mexico and southwestern Colorado and settled in San Juan, Grand, and Emery counties (Ulibarri, 1972). Some became "homesteaders" (Ellsworth, 1985, p. 8) in Utah.

May (1987) reported that in 1900, 40 Spanish-speaking people were in Utah. In the 1910 Utah census, 199 Spanish Americans were reported (Ellsworth, 1985). At the turn of the century, Hispanic immigrants from other portions of the Southwest and from Mexico arrived in Utah (Ulibarri, 1972). They often came from Mexico, then moved to other Southwestern states before arriving in Utah. Many crossed into the United States between 1910 and 1917 to escape dangers of Revolution in Mexico (Ellsworth, 1985). Both professionals and poor, legal and illegal people fled from Mexico and crossed into the United States and made their way to Utah (Hinton, 1988). Some Mexican nationals who left Mexico during the Revolution settled in Weber County along the Wasatch Front accepting jobs for the railroad or in mining districts (Ulibarri, 1972).

After World War I, Mexicans began coming to Utah to work in the mines, mills, smelters, and on railroads (Mayer, 1976). In 1916, Hashimoto, a labor contractor of Japanese extraction, became the Mexican consul (May, 1987; Mayer, 1976). During labor disputes, Hashimoto brought Mexicans into Utah as strikebreakers who replaced Japanese, Chinese and Greek miners. Hundreds of Mexican miners entered the state at that time (Ulibarri, 1972).

From 1910 to 1920, the Hispanic population in Utah increased tenfold (Hinton, 1988). In the 1920 Utah census, 1,666 Hispanics were reported living in Utah; most worked in mines, mills, and on railroads (Ellsworth, 1985). According to May,

> In 1918 and 1919 large numbers of Hispanics appeared on the employee lists of the Utah Copper Company ...Their numbers grew rapidly. By 1923 nearly 20 percent of the

section crew workers on the Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad had Spanish surnames.

By 1930 the Mexican-born alone in Utah numbered 4,000. (May, 1987, p. 143) Additional Hispanics came to Utah to work as migrant farm workers in the 1920s (Hinton, 1988). The Mexican-born workers soon outnumbered the Hispanics who moved into the southeastern corner of Utah from New Mexico and Colorado.

The mines suffered a setback during the Depression of the 1930s. Many minorities, including Mexicans, lost their jobs in the mines and on the railroads to Anglo Americans. When available, Mexicans accepted positions as agricultural farmhands during this period, but these jobs too were often lost to Anglos (Papanilolas, 1965; as cited in Ulibarri, 1972, p. 231). Many of the migrant workers returned to Mexico jobless; those who remained in Utah struggled to survive (Ellsworth, 1985; Hinton, 1988; Mayer, 1992).

The Mexican population has played an important part in the state's farming. Some Mexicans owned their own farms while many have been migrant workers tending fields and picking fruits in season while moving from place to place. The lowest paying jobs often have been those offered to Mexicans (McCormick & McCormick, 1986).

The bulk of Mexicans arrived in Utah during and after World War II (Ellsworth, 1985; Hinton, 1988; Ulibarri, 1972). The sudden need for workers in industries and agriculture attracted Mexican families from nearby southwestern states such as, Arizona, Texas, California, New Mexico, and Colorado. "In the decade of the 1950s nearly 20,000 Hispanics entered Utah, and in the 1960s more than 20,000 were added to the population" (Hinton, 1988, p. 110). Ulibarri stated that,

> The reason was purely economic. Northern New Mexico and southern Colorado had no industry, and the war boom of military installations in Utah attracted Chicanos in large numbers. In 1944, the Tooele Ordinance Depot, facing an acute labor shortage, went to

New Mexico to recruit personnel. Both Indians and Chicanos were brought to Tooele, and many still reside there. (Ulibarri, 1972, p. 231-232)

The transient migrant stream, a valuable source of labor for Utah agriculture, which passes through the state in the spring, summer, and fall months has been an additional source of Mexican migration to Utah since World War II (Ulibarri, 1972). During the 1960s, almost 8,000 migrant workers were in Utah each year. "In recent years, as urbanization and mechanization have decreased agricultural opportunities in the area, more and more members have dropped out of the migrant stream and have taken up residence along the Wasatch Front" (Ulibarri, 1972, p. 232). Many of these residents, not possessing the skills and training for urban living, have gone through a serious transition period. With less that 35% as high school graduates, many Hispanics in Utah are in skills training programs (Ulibarri, 1972).

Hispanic Support Systems

Many problems faced the Mexican immigrants in Utah and other Southwestern states such as low wages, poor quality housing, inadequate health care, and language and cultural barriers (Ellsworth, 1985; Hinton, 1988). Unpleasant school experiences for Hispanic children because of language barriers and differences in United States and Mexican schooling also created frustrating circumstances (Ellsworth, 1985). Often, assistance for the Hispanic population came from church, community, and government support groups. Eventually, small Hispanic neighborhoods appeared where community members were able to assist each other with their struggles. A rich cultural heritage was shared through similar language and backgrounds (Ellsworth, 1985).

Social organizations, mutual aid societies, and churches provided support for the growing Hispanic community in Utah. Religion has always played an important role in the lives of

Hispanics. Traditions, customs and worship were carried on in church organizations. According to Mayer (1992), in 1920, Mormon leaders organized the first Spanish-speaking church in Utah. "In 1923, the branch was reorganized as the *Rama Mexicana* and its Spanish language services and activities helped Utah's Mexican Mormons preserve their language and customs" (p. 14).

In 1927, a Roman Catholic Mission was started for the Hispanic community in Salt Lake City (Mayer, 1992). By 1930, the *Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish) was established (Ellsworth, 1985; May, 1987; Mayer, 1992). The parish provided a social and religious center for the community, combining sports, crafts, and recreation with religious instruction. According to Ellsworth (1985), the parish sponsors two educational programs: the Early Learning Program, an alternative school that services Hispanic, Black, and some White children from kindergarten through grade three by providing preparation for public school attendance; and, the Voluntary Improvement Program (VIP) that teaches immigrant adults basic survival English.

According to Mayer (1992), The *Comisión Honorífica Mexicana* and *La Cruz Azul* were organizations founded in the 1920s that assisted Mexicans to Utah. These groups also sponsored celebrations of Mexican culture such as, *Cinco de Mayo* (The Battle of Puebla) and *Dieciséis de Septiembre* (Mexican Independence Day).

Groups to protect the rights of Hispanics and assist in dealing with their struggles were also formed in Utah. In 1946, the Mutual Protection Society of United Workers was organized in Ogden. In 1947, a chapter of the American G.I. Forum came to Utah. And in the 1960s, Federal laws against discrimination were passed that supported the goals of fair treatment in education, politics, and social life of all minorities (Ellsworth, 1985). In comparison to many other states, Utah has had a small percentage of minorities (Ulibarri, 1972).

According to Mayer (1992), groups associated with the Mexican Consulate in Salt Lake City were also organized that demonstrated a concern for social or cultural issues of the Spanish-speaking communities in Utah. These organizations helped the Mexican Consul remain close to Utah's Mexican immigrants.

In 1967, the Spanish Speaking Organization for Community, Integrity, and Opportunity (SOCIO) was founded and led by Jorge Arce-Laretta, Ricardo Barbaro, and Father Jerald Merill as a result of a new interest in Mexican culture and history (Mayer, 1992). By 1974, the organization had approximately 27,000 members in nine Utah groups (Ellsworth, 1985). SOCIO improved the government's understanding of the Spanish-speaking population in Utah. Programs such as the Chicano Studies Program at the University of Utah and Utah Ballet Folklorico helped to strengthen Hispanic culture in Utah (Mayer, 1992). In reinforcing the need for an understanding of the Hispanic population, Ulibarri (1972) stated, "Since understanding and appreciating the historical contributions of any people grants them dignity and self-respect, the recorded history of Utah's minorities provides a necessary step toward full citizenship status" (p. 232).

Hispanic Populations in Utah

The state of Utah has a growing, diverse, and culturally rich Hispanic population. A significant number of Utah's Hispanic ancestors are from isolated villages in New Mexico. Similar to most of the West, many of Utah's Hispanic ancestors originated in Mexico. Additionally, a population sample of Hispanics can be found throughout the state from South and Central America. Although the majority of Puerto Rican and Cuban Hispanics have settled primarily on the east coast, some are Utah residents (Knowlton, 1992).

According to Knowlton (1992), jobs and religion have been the primary attraction for Hispanics to Utah. Foreign laborers from New Mexico, Mexico, and Central and South America

have accepted jobs in the mines, railroads, fruit orchards, and as sheep herders. Sheep herders have come from Mexico, South America, and as far as northern Spain. Many are Peruvian and have formed their own unique ethnic group in Utah, the Basques (Knowlton, 1992).

As a result of Mormon missionary work, many Latin Americans have converted to the Mormon religion. Often, Latin converts like other Hispanic newcomers establish themselves in Utah, later attracting family and friends. According to Knowlton (1992), "Once these Latin converts are established in Utah, many leave Mormonism, but they have built a strong community which continues." (p. 5)

The Hispanic populations in Utah can be divided into three groups: those with cultural ties to villages in New Mexico; the Hispanic immigrants from Mexico; and, the Latinos from Central and South America and the Caribbean Islands (Edison, 1992). Although all three groups share a common Spanish heritage, each group brought and continues to bring their own rich unique cultural heritage to the peoples of Utah.

New Mexicans in Utah

The New Mexicans who have settled in Utah are associated with Spanish Colonial New Mexicans (Rivera, 1992). The Spanish Colonial settlements were established in the Santa Fe area around 1600, almost 200 years before the American Declaration of Independence was signed (Edison, 1992). The Hispanic New Mexican are often referred to as *Manitos*.

> *Manitos* are New Mexicans or Coloradans, born of Spanish Colonial ancestors, who come from the Mexican territory north of the Rio Grand. ... In the small rural villages of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, people often referred to each other as brother and sister, *Hermano - Hermanito.* As with many Spanish nicknames, people sometimes drop the first syllable as an affectionate. The word, Manito, refers to the

> brotherhood of our forebears, the first European settlers in the southwestern United States. (Rivera, 1992, p. 6)

The Hispanic New Mexicans worked the land as ranchers and farmers (Hinton, 1988; Rivera, 1992). According to Rivera (1992), because of the close proximity to Native Americans and isolation from Mexico, the Hispanic New Mexicans developed cultural patterns unique to themselves. They developed refined crafting skills for home and farm equipment. Artforms such as sanctuaries and shrines were created that complemented their religious beliefs and practices. Cooperation, generosity, and humility were all emphasized and practiced as a result of the influence of Catholicism. When the *Manitos* moved to Utah, their values accompanied them (Rivera, 1992). Additionally, Hispanic traditions heavily influenced the ranching industries. Spanish terms such as "ranch, sombrero, hacienda, buckaroo, lasso, and rodeo" (Rivera, 1992, p.10) were transferred to Utahns.

Hispanic New Mexicans who lost their homes to the government through U.S. broken promises or who were tending unproductive farms, migrated to Utah (Edison, 1992). Utah attracted many workers to mining, railroading, and defense work (Rivera, 1992). The Hispanic New Mexicans were valued workers; they were often encouraged to bring relatives and friends to Utah from the isolated villages of New Mexico. "In places such as Ogden or Tooele, many New Mexicans are related through extended family lines, and their ancestry can often be traced back to the same New Mexican village" (Rivera, 1992, p. 8).

Although the *Manitos* living in isolated villages in New Mexico had developed their own unique culture, while in Utah, they often mixed with other Spanish-speaking groups from Mexico and Latin America. Eventually, many of the customs, practices, and holidays of the various Spanish-speaking populations were influenced and adopted by each other (Hinton, 1988; Rivera, 1992; Ulibarri, 1972).

Mexicans in Utah

Mexican immigrants moved into Utah soon after the first villagers from New Mexico and Colorado moved into southeastern Utah. After the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, Mexican immigrants seeking safety and work, settled in northern Utah (Edison, 1992). According to Mayer (1992), many of the Mexican immigrants were single young men who came to make money. They found work on the railroads, in the mines, on orchards, and on the farms along the Wasatch front. The mines and sugar beet fields provided jobs for Mexican immigrants. Some stayed and became permanent residents and eventually were joined by their family members from Mexico. "Soon there were Mexican *colonias* (communities) in Salt Lake, Ogden, Bingham, and in farming communities such as Garland ... and by 1920 there were some 2,300 people who had been born in Mexico living in Utah" (Mayer, 1992, p. 12).

Mexican immigrants often accepted lower wages, yet served in labor intensive jobs while other immigrants moved into better positions (Hinton, 1988; Mayer, 1992). Although life was exhaustive and often hostile for many Mexican immigrants, America offered promise and opportunity. By 1930 the Mexican population in Utah had exceeded 4,000 with new agricultural communities developing in Delta, Garland, and Spanish Fork (Mayer, 1992).

During the Great Depression years, beginning in 1929, economic growth ended. American Anglos replaced Mexican workers in their jobs. Some immigrants returned to Mexico. While the 1920 Utah census showed that more that 2,300 Utahns were Mexican born, the 1940 census lists only 1,069 (Mayer, 1992).

The Emergency Labor Program was established by the U.S. government as a result of a sudden labor shortage created by World War II (Ellsworth, 1985; Hinton, 1988; Mayer, 1992). Although not as significant in Utah, Mexican workers were brought to agricultural regions

throughout the U.S. More Spanish-speaking families from neighboring states came to Utah to work on railroads, mines, defense, and agriculture during the war-time needs.

Traditional Mexican culture was somewhat diffused by the arrival of neighboring Spanish-speaking families (Mayer, 1992). In addition, at this time, many returning Mexican servicemen began to abandon their culture and grow closer to the mainstream culture to acquire better educational and job opportunities. In spite of this desire to acculturate, newly arriving Mexican immigrants, local organizations, and parents continued to practice the Mexican traditions, customs, and language in order to preserve them (Mayer, 1992).

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s created a resurgence of interest in ancestral cultural heritage of many acculturated individuals. Young Mexican-Americans yearned to learn of their own countries of origin and the contributions of such to the development of the United States. The Hispanic community desired the Anglo community to value them as different, not as inferior (Mayer, 1992).

Latin Americans in Utah

Utah's most recent Hispanic population encompasses a culturally diverse population of Spanish-speakers from Central and South America and the Caribbean Islands (Edison, 1992). According to Edison, immigrants from Argentina, Chile, and Peru have come to Utah for religious, educational, and economic reasons since the late 1960s. More recently, in the last decade, a significant number of immigrants from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, many fleeing from political turmoil, have settled in the urban areas of northern Utah. Parker (1992) stated that,

> The first notable influx of Latinos occurred during World War II when about 500 Puerto Ricans were recruited to work in Utah copper mines. However the majority of the state's Central and South American residents are new immigrants who came in significant

> numbers during the 1960s and earl 1970s. The largest groups to settle in Utah are Argentines, Peruvians, Chileans, Guatemalans, and Salvadorans. (p. 20)

Hispanics from Bolivia, Honduras, Columbia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela, Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Panama, and Puerto Rico have also chosen to settle in Utah (Edison, 1992; Parker, 1992).

Parker (1992) reported on the status of Utah's recent Latino immigrants stating that approximately 300 Argentine families live in the areas of Salt Lake City, Provo, and Orem. Bolivians who settled in Utah came primarily as students and decided to stay permanently because of the political and social problems created by military dictatorships of the 1970s. Many Central Americans from Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador settled in Utah as a result of political unrest in their countries of origin. Approximately 50 Nicaraguan families, 500 Guatemalan families, and 500 Salvadoran families reside in the Provo-Orem and Salt Lake City areas. Few numbers of Costa Ricans and Panamanians, approximately 50, have migrated to Utah. In the 1940s, a group of 500 Puerto Ricans came to Utah to work in the copper mines; most returned home or moved to New York. The majority of the 400 Cubans who came to Utah through the *Marielitos* refugee program in the early 1980s returned to the Miami area to reside in a more traditional and preferred setting. Recently, approximately 50 Paraguayans and 150 Venezuelans moved to Utah to attend college in Utah; they reside in Logan, Provo-Orem, or St. George (Parker, 1992).

Latino immigrants have found work in many areas to provide their families with good homes. Government agencies, universities, hospitals, Churches, factories, hotels, and restaurants have provided employment opportunities for Latino immigrants. Many risk starting their own businesses in service-related industries such as, child care, bakeries, or cleaning services (Parker, 1992).

To preserve their ethnic identity, according to Parker (1992), Latinos form social groups like *Latinos de la Tercera Edad* (Latinos of the Third Age) located in Provo, *Circulo Argentino de Utah* (Argentina Circle of Utah), *Club Deportivo Socio-Cultural Peru* (Social-Cultural Peruvian Sport Club), and *Mujeres Latinas* (Latin Women's Club). In addition to social groups, many Latinos participate in the *Festival de Otoño de la Canción* (Autumn Song Festival), an annual event sponsored by *Monte de Zión* Ward in Salt Lake City.

Continual use of the Spanish language remains an important tradition for the Spanish-speaking community in the home, through Spanish publications and through Spanish radio. Spanish Church services also add to the maintenance of Hispanic language and culture. There are approximately 20 Catholic, 10 Mormon, and 3 Baptist centers that contribute to the cultural heritage of Latinos in Utah (Parker, 1992).

Figures reported in 1993 by the Bureau of Economic and Business Research reflect an increase in Utah's minority population from 78,487 (5.4%) in 1980 to 137,005 (7.8%) in 1990, a 75% increase over a 10-year period. During the same time span, the Hispanic population in Utah increased by over 40% from 60,302 to 84,597. At approximately 5%, Hispanics are one of the fastest growing minority populations in the state (Stephens, 1992).

This influx of minorities into Utah has also affected the population demographics of the state's educational system. In the 1994 Fall Enrollment Report of Utah Public and Private Schools, an increase was reflected in the minority school population (K-12) from 32,764 (7.4%) students to 43,900 (9.1%) over a 5 year period (Bean, 1994). The Hispanic school population in Utah for the 1994-95 school year consisted of 23,408 students, which was 5.3% of the total school population and 53% of the minority school population. According to the 1997 Digest of Education Statistics, approximately 60% of Hispanic persons 25 years and over in Utah have a high school or higher degree in comparison to 85% of the state's total population.

Hispanic Culture in Utah

As the Pilgrims arrived in what was to become the United States, a strong and vital culture of music, narrative, poetry, art, and history had already been established by the country's Hispanic inhabitants and their descendants (Knowlton, 1992). Through forced Anglo conformity, the southwestern states' original Hispanic inhabitants were punished when they spoke their native language in schools and attempted to practice their native customs (Carrasquillo, 1991; Knowlton, 1992). Yet, even today, their culture continues to flourish.

> Today Utah's ... persons of Hispanic background maintain many of their traditional holidays and customs. Preservation of the Hispanic cultural heritage is facilitated by the fact that about 90 percent of the Hispanics live in urban communities along the Wasatch front. (Hinton, 1988, p. 110)

Hispanic cultural heritage has managed to survive in Utah through the use of a common language, special foods, festivals, and the celebration of traditional holidays (Edison, 1992; Ellsworth, 1985). *Cinco de Mayo* (5th of May) in honor of Mexico's independence is one of the biggest holidays celebrated by the state's Hispanic population. At Christmas, breaking the *piñata* is a traditional game for Hispanic children. The *piñata* is a "brightly colored paper animal stuffed with candy" (Ellsworth, 1985, p. 36). Blindfolded, children individually swing a stick at the *piñata* until it finally breaks. The candy then scatters for the children to collect.

Art forms such as music, dance, and crafts provide the Hispanic community with additional means to maintain their cultural heritage. Participation in art forms is an important way to express one's cultural heritage. Considering that many Hispanic art forms require group participation and a responsive audience, church and ethnic organizations often provide opportunities for reaffirmation of Hispanic cultural traditions (Edison, 1992).

Both similarities and differences exist among the diverse Hispanic groups in Utah. As a result of various historical influences on Utah's Hispanic groups, distinct cultural traditions have been developed. The practice of religion is one area in which culture often differs.

Although many ethnic groups are members of Utah's Catholic Diocese, the Hispanic population is the fast-growing population. As a result, church leaders include activities such as the celebration of Spanish holy days, a Spanish language mass, and Spanish choirs that usually include guitars, accordions, harmonicas, trumpets or violins that help keep Hispanic traditions alive (Edison, 1992). Church-sponsored socials through the sharing of traditional food, music, and dance also provide opportunities for Utah's Hispanic population to reinforce their cultural heritage. Traditional practices are also reaffirmed during social and church gatherings such as *quinceaneras* - 15th birthday parties for Mexican girls,weddings, birthdays, anniversaries, and funerals. Traditional crafts associated with religious services are often preserved and continue to be valued Hispanic art forms such as palm fronds distributed on Palm Sunday, carved wooden crucifixes, rosaries, statues, altars, and shrines (Edison, 1992).

Mormonism also encourages Utah Hispanics to preserve their ethnic identity. One way the Hispanic Mormon population is maintained is through missionary contact in Mexico and Latin American countries. Immigrants often come to Utah as a result of missionary contact. These recent converts actively practice their traditional customs that help reinforce those of earlier immigrants. According to Edison (1992), stylized folklore music and dance from different regions of Mexico and Latin America have been promoted by several Mormon branches. As a result, numerous dancers, costumes, and dance troupes have developed.

Ethnic organizations have also played a significant role in preserving the arts of Utah's Hispanic populations (Edison, 1992; Mayer, 1992). *Centro Cívico Mexicano* (the Mexican Civic Center), established in the 1940s, has presented numerous concerts featuring local and touring

Hispanic performers. Additionally, Utah's Mexican-American population celebrates festivals of importance such as *Cinco de Mayo* at the Mexican Civic Center. The Center also provides space for local Hispanic performers to practice their preferred art forms (Edison, 1992). Ethnic clubs, church buildings, convention centers, and university campuses also provide locations for Hispanic communities to share traditional food and cultural performances.

Utah's Hispanic business establishments such as restaurants, bars, and private nightclubs provide opportunities for both Hispanic and non-Hispanic populations to enjoy southwestern cuisine and Latino music. Local and out-of-state music performers entertain commercial clientele at private business locations and at Hispanic dances held regularly at Utah's State Fairgrounds (Edison, 1992). Hispanic businesses provide social opportunities for immigrants and migrant workers to express their cultural identity while away from their homeland. Small Hispanic stores and markets cater to recent arrivals by providing imported groceries, clothing, and other pertinent items. Additionally, several taco stands and Mexican bakeries have opened in the last few years along the Wasatch front. Additionally, Spanish language newspapers, magazines, and radio stations serve the growing Hispanic market in Utah in order to provide better communication channels and the perpetuation of Hispanic heritage (Edison, 1992).

Discussion

In reviewing the history of the migration and life of the Hispanic population in Utah, several themes and categories emerged from the literature that are interwoven throughout the historical and cultural context. The major themes are (a) people in search of a better life, (b) need and acquisition of a sense of belonging, and (c) substance of a people.

The first theme interwoven throughout the historical context concerns people in search of a better life. Within this theme fall two basic categories: native homelands and immigration reasons. Native homelands of the Hispanic immigrants are similar. Hispanics migrate from

Mexico, Central and South America, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Spain to various parts of the United States and Utah. Although all are of Spanish descent, some Hispanics in the United States and Utah are originally from sections of the United States such as the Southwest where large populations of Hispanics originally lived. Similarities also exist for those individuals who choose to leave their homeland and immigrate to various geographical areas. Some come to escape political turmoil and/or persecution in Central America, recession in Mexico, crime in larger metropolitan areas, or simply to earn income and later return to their homeland.

The second theme that surfaced in the historical review of Hispanics in Utah, is the need to acquire a sense of belonging in their new homeland. When members of the Hispanic population immigrate to areas with an unfamiliar culture, a strong need exists to retain their identity and culture in turn creating a sense of belonging. Many Hispanics are able to acquire this sense of belonging through various means of support. Community members who previously experienced similar feelings of not belonging are often empathic to the newcomers and initiate programs to assist the Hispanic population. Additionally, support organizations are started with the backing of local churches and social agencies. Many local churches offer separate services to accommodate the needs of the Hispanic community. Cultural activities and entertainment are planned and supported by the Hispanic population. Means to educate the non-English-speaking segment of the community are often provided by education systems and local agencies. Often seen as a barrier, one way the Hispanic population often maintains their sense of identity is through the continual use and reinforcement of the Spanish language with family members. Another means is their travel back and forth to their homeland.

The third theme that was strongly interwoven throughout the historical context is the substance of the Hispanic people. Many minority populations have experienced and continue to experience inferior treatment and discrimination. Yet, the value system and culture that the

majority of Hispanics maintain have resulted in a strong work ethic and family support system. These values are often reinforced through religious beliefs and family practices. The Hispanic population has notoriously been offered work positions that are considered to be secondary in nature often because of their educational level and also because others simply will not employ them. Positions as such are usually the only ones that immigrants first and frequently acquire. When the positions are accepted, others often treat those who do accept them in a degrading manner. Yet as workers, according to employers, the majority of Hispanics have outstanding reputations.

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